

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15
CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-02 USIA-15
PRS-01 /075 W

-----111625 051622Z /47

R 051338Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY ANTANANARIVO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9550
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 ANTANANARIVO 1433

E.O. 11652:N/A
TAGS: PGOV, MA
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT RATSIRAKA'S COMMENTS ON OCCASION OF CHANGE OF
GOVERNMENT

REFS: (A) ANTANANARIVO 1390, (B) ANTANANARIVO 1386

1. SUMMARY. PRESIDENT RATSIRAKA SPOKE ON TWO OCCASIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE FORMATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, ON JULY 31 WHEN THE NEW PRIME MINISTER AND NEW SUPREME REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (SRC) WERE NAMED AND ON AUGUST 5 WHEN THE NEW CABINET WAS REVEALED. BOTH TIMES HE SPOKE EXTEMPORANEOUSLY AND SOME OF HIS REMARKS ARE WORTH RECORDING. END SUMMARY.

2. THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS (2-5) CONTAIN THE EMBASSY'S TRANSLATION OF EXCERPTS FROM THE OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S JULY 31 REMARKS AS IT APPEARED IN THE OFFICIAL PRESS BULLETIN.

3. BEGIN TEXT: HE THEN INSISTED ON MAKING TWO REMARKS IN ORDER TO PREEMPT HIS CRITICS. THE FIRST CONCERNED THE NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF THE NEW SUPREME REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (SRC) WHICH MIGHT BE CONSIDERED TO BE SOMEWHAT LARGE AND TO HAVE A HARMFUL EFFECT ON THE BUDGET OF THE STATE. BUT, INDICATED
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THE PRESIDENT, THE OPERATION OF THE ENTIRE SRC, WITH ITS PERMANENT COMMISSIONERS, DOES NOT IN FACT EVEN REACH THE LEVEL OF EXPENSES OF A FUNCTIONAL MINISTRY. A SECOND REMARK WAS AN ADVICE AS MUCH AS A WARNING: IT IS NECESSARY FIRST AND ALWAYS TO SAFEGUARD NATIONAL UNITY; FOR THIS PURPOSE, THE CHIEF OF STATE APPEALED TO ALL THE PEOPLE AND ITS DEPUTIES TO COLLABORATE IN THIS SENSE.

4. FURTHERMORE, IT IS NECESSARY TO REFRAIN FROM CLASSIFY-
ING PEOPLE BY LABELS, LEFT OR RIGHT. THE ONLY CRITERION
FOR JUDGMENT WILL BE EFFICIENCY; "I MAY NOT BE ABLE TO
CLAIM FOR MYSELF PARTICIPATION IN A "LONG MARCH," LIKE
MAO TSE TUNG, AND IN THE SAME WAY I CANNOT BE ASHAMED OF
NOT HAVING BEEN BIG ENOUGH IN 1947 TO STRUGGLE WITH MY
NATIONALIST ELDERS, BUT I DID MILITATE SINCE 1972 FOR
NEW COOPERATION AGREEMENTS WITH THE FRENCH, ALONGSIDE OF
MY COMPANIONS; CERTAIN OF THEM ARE NO LONGER WITH US,
SUCH AS PEIRRE RAJAONAH AND ALPHONSE RAKOTONIRAINY...
AMONG THOSE WHO REMAIN, THE ONLY CRITERION FOR JUDGMENT
IS EFFICIENCY, OTHERWISE I SEPARATE MYSELF FROM THEM. I
DID THE SAME WITH MY FRIENDS AT THE MILITARY DIRECTORATE.
I CANNOT NAME THEM ALL SUPREME COUNSELORS OF THE REVOLUTION.
THERE ARE OTHER POSTS. IN ANY CASE, THEY WILL REMAIN
MY FRIENDS UNLESS THEY HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES."

5. THE CHIEF OF STATE THEN DECLARED THAT THERE EXIST
TWO CRITERIA FOR THE CHOICE OF COLLABORATORS: "IDEOLOGICAL
IDENTITY OR FIDELITY. NOTHING IS SERVED BY TAKING COLLABORA-
TORS, EVEN FROM THE LEFT, IF IT IS FORESEEN THAT THEY
MIGHT HAMPER YOUR ACTIVITIES. BUT WHEN ONE HAS CHOSEN
BOURGEOIS NATIONALISTS AS COLLABORATORS, EVERYTHING GOES
WELL AS LONG AS THEY REMAIN FAITHFUL AND GIVE YOU RECIPROCAL
CONFIDENCE." AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE IT IS BETTER TO MAKE A
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SYNTHESIS OF THE TWO POSSIBILITIES, INDICATED THE CHIEF
OF STATE. HE ENDED BY EXHORTING THE SCR, THE GOVERNMENT,
WHICH WILL BE FORMED THURSDAY, AND THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
TO COLLABORATE. END TEXT.

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6. THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS (6-9) ARE THE EMBASSY'S SUMMARY OF MOST INTERESTING POINTS IN THE PRESIDENT'S JULY 4 REMARKS BASED ON THE OFFICIAL PRESS BULLETIN. ON TWO OCCASIONS THE PRESIDENT COMPLAINED THAT CERTAIN PEOPLE WERE "AMUSING THEMSELVES BY DEFORMING HIS WORDS." HE IMPLIED THAT THE ENTRY OF THE MFM "PROLETARIAN PARTY" INTO THE NATIONAL FRONT AND SRC HAD BEEN MADE POSSIBLE BY MONIMA'S WITHDRAWAL, FOR IT HAD BEEN MONIMA WHICH HAD PREVENTED THE ENTRY OF THE MFM IN THE FIRST PLACE. HE HOPED THAT MONIMA WOULD EVENTUALLY RECONSIDER ITS WITHDRAWAL. HE DENIED THAT HE HAD SAID THERE ARE NO DISTINCT FORCES OF RIGHT AND LEFT. WHAT HE HAD MEANT WAS THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE FORCES OF THE LEFT, UNITED IN THE NATIONAL FRONT, BUT THAT THEY SHOULD REASON TOGETHER REGARDING THEIR DIFFERENCES. THE LEFT SHOULD NOT LET ITSELF BE DIVIDED BY ITS ENEMIES. HE EXPLAINED THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE EXTREME LEFT, HIS OWN VIEWS, AND THOSE OF THE RIGHT. THE FIRST WANTED TO GO TOO FAST TOWARD SOCIALISM, LEAVING THE PEOPLE BEHIND. THE RIGHT WANTED TO GO SO SLOWLY IT WOULD NEVER GET THERE. IT WAS PREFERABLE FOR ALL TO TRAVEL TOGETHER AT A MODERATE SPEED TOWARD THE ATTAINMENT OF SOCIALISM.

7. THE PRESIDENT DEFENDED HIMSELF FOR HIS COLLABORATION WITH CERTAIN BOURGEOIS NATIONALISTS. AS AN EXAMPLE HE
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SAID VERY FEW MILITARY OFFICERS, MOST HAVING BEEN EDUCATED IN WESTERN COUNTRIES, WERE REAL SOCIALISTS. YET THE NATION HAD TO DEPEND ON THEM FOR ITS DEFENSE. IT WAS BY THE RESULTS OF ITS WORK THAT THE PRESENT REGIME WOULD BE JUDGED.

8. RATSIRAKA FURTHER EXPLAINED THAT IT WAS NOT NECESSARY TO MASSACRE THE "COMPRADORE BOURGEOISIE" TO INSTALL SOCIALISM. THE MAIN ENEMY WAS IMPERIALISM WHICH WAS THE UMBRELLA UNDER WHICH THE LATTER OPERATED. THE DEPARTURE OF FOREIGN TROOPS HAD REMOVED THE PROTECTION UNDER WHICH THE COMPRADOR BOURGEOISIE OPERATED AND THE NATIONALIZATIONS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND RESTRUCTURATION OF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS HAS REMOVED THE MEANS BY WHICH THE PEOPLE HAD BEEN EXPLOITED.

9. RATSIRAKA ALSO SPOKE OF THE TASKS WHICH REMAINED TO BE ACCOMPLISHED TO ACHIEVE SOCIALISM FROM THE PRESENT

STAGE OF "NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION", LISTING
THEM MUCH AS HE HAD AT THE OPENING OF THE NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY ON JULY 28 (REF B), STARTING WITH PUBLIC
SECURITY, "BOTH MORAL AND PHYSICAL" AND PROTECTION OF
THE PEOPLE AGAINST "BANDITISM OF ALL KINDS, WHICH IS USED
BY CERTAIN DUBIOUS POLITICAL FORCES."BARRETT

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